1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

should be used with caution when small and variable units, such as the Iban *bilek* family, are being discussed. To illustrate this let us examine the households of Gayar (No. 8) and Majau (No. 13), of Rumah Nyala, both of which have five members. Gayar's *bilek* contains two adult males, two adult females and a child of about six years; while Majau's family comprises a man and woman, two children (9 years and 3 years) and a baby that is still a suckling. If we accept Dr. Jack's estimates, Majau's family would need only about 320 gantangs of *padi* per year, while Gayar's household would require some 470 gantangs, or almost half as much again. This suggests that due allowance must be made for special features in the composition of individual *bilek* families.

Subsidiary Consumption

234. In addition to its basic needs in food, a household requires *padi* for a number of other purposes. First and foremost there is the seed (*benih*) which must be put aside for the next season's planting. We have seen that the average sowing rate (at Rumah Nyala) was 5½ gantangs of *padi* per acre, so that a family of five members would require about 30 gantangs of *padi* seed. (What usually happens is that a family stores away a good deal more seed than it is likely to need. This is a safeguard against crop failure. Thus, in 1950, the *bilek* family of Kubu had 57 gantangs of *padi* seed, of 18 different varieties. When the success of the crop is assured, the residue of seed can then be eaten).

235. Many Iban families possess one or more dogs, which are used in the hunting of wild pigs and other game. On the whole these dogs are very indifferently cared for; few are fed properly and most of them are forced to slink and skulk about the long-house in search of scraps and left overs. An owner who looks after his dogs gives them a staple diet of boiled rice (*asi bubur*), and from Iban testimony and brief general observation, I estimate that the feeding of a dog is likely to cost between 30 and 35 gantangs of *padi* per year.

236. It is the ambition of every Iban family to build up a flourishing flock of fowls. Eggs are an essential ingredient of the standard offerings (*piring*) which accompany almost every Iban ritual; on important occasions fowls are used in making sacrifices, or in paying for services; the men are always on the watch for young birds that can be trained for cock-fighting. During the daylight hours, fowls are set free to seek food in the environs of the long-house, but this diet is always supplemented by a daily ration of *padi*. The number of fowls which a household can keep is dependent then on its *padi* stocks. A normal household is likely to expend at least from 40 to 50 gantangs of *padi* per annum on its fowls. It should be noted however that there is a good deal of variation in this matter, so that while penurious households are forced well below this level, successful farmers often devote a large part of their surplus to the rearing of chickens.

Padi Expended on Rituals

237. We finally come to the rather difficult task of estimating the average annual expenditure of *padi* on religious rituals, feasting and drinking. The first points to be made are that all the major rituals (e.g. all of the head-hunting and prestige *gawai*) are performed by individual *bilek* families and not by the long-house community as a whole, and further, that (with but rare exceptions) they are only staged when a *padi* surplus has been achieved. The holding of a major *gawai* is usually planned well in advance (i.e. by as much as one or two years), and those *bilek* families desiring to participate make a special effort to produce

231 Almost all families keep (nginang) chickens and pigs for gawai.
235 In more traditional houses, the chickens are kept in rattan cages (kerungan) which are suspended from the underside of the ruai or common verandah. In more modern houses, there often are separate chicken-houses. Pigs roam around and beneath the longhouse, feeding off the droppings that fall through the slats of the floor, or off sago logs. In some areas, the [654] pigs are kept penned in front of the house or beneath it. A number of Ibans have taken advantage of a program of subsidies provided by the Agriculture Department to put pig-houses and improve their stock.

231 Although hunting is an infrequent activity and adds little to the [224] food-supply of the Ibans of this District, yet dogs are kept by almost every bilik-family, and in some houses threaten to outnumber and even outeat the human population. In most houses, dogs have the roam of the ruai where their steps revereberate on the loosely placed planks. When their presence becomes bothersome, a swift kick or punch sends them scurrying away. Cats prowl over the bilik walls and through the loft in search of rats and other prey.

In a few longhouses, larger stock and other fowl such as ducks and geese are kept. Some individuals have purchased goats, water-buffalo and cattle which have been imported by Government or church-related agricultural programs. In most cases, attempts at keeping these types of livestock have not been successful due to inadequate and improper food-supplies, or conditions that were too unhealthy for the stock. Where they

342 727 372 periodic ritual smoking in remembrance of the heads.[12]

The ruai is an important area for ritual activities of the Ibans. 342 796 At the beginning of the horticultural year, the pandong (ritual center, with ceremonial blanket enclosing the seed, whetstone, and utensils to be used) is erected on the ruai. The ruai is the path of the bards (lemanbang) to sebayan (the after-world), and it is the way of the gods into the long-house.

Between the ruai proper and the bilik is the tempuan lesong (mortar's 342 412 place), where rice mortars and mills are kept when not in use, hence the 235 name. Firewood is stacked against the dinding udok, and fighting cocks are tethered before the owner's bilik. The tempuan lesong may be demarcated 178 by another row of posts, but in some houses there is no such row. In the modern longhouse of Rumah Nyala, several bilik have long benches attached to the wall and the tempuan lesong has become the sitting area.

3. Sadau

Over each bilik and extending about halfway over the padong ruai 251 is a loft which serves a number of purposes. The most common use of the sadau is as a storage area, where the large bark-bins (tibang) containing the family's rice supply is stored. Mats, baskets, and farm utensils may be stored in the sadau. Some families use the sadau as a sleeping area,

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114 [12] Freeman is right to stress that "these heads (antu pala') are always the property of one particular family, and are never owned by the long-house group as a whole." (Ibid.).